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ticular sibs. To be sure, I understood Last Star to say that l,ew'c, xipa', and xavâtca'c preferred to marry, but he may have meant no more than that they did intermarry most frequently. Since they are the largest sibs, chance would inevitably make this the fact. A record of sixty-two marriages covering the present and past generations is appended. There does not appear to be

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO SIB

	l,ew'c	xipa'	Pima xipa'*	xamitu'tc	xavâtca'c	clayikwł'a	pakł't	kwłk,ł'l,ᵏ	cłkama'	kwłcᵏkw'	l,amu'c	sala'l	xllyi'	tôxpa'a	cûkapa'a	Unassigned
l,ew'c																
xipa'	7	3														
Pima xipa'*	1	2														
xamitu'tc	1															
xavâtca'c	6	1														
clayikwł'a	1	2		1												
pakł't	1	1			1											
kwłk,ł'l,ᵏ	1	4		1	2											
cłkama'	2		1	1		1										
kwłcᵏkw'									1							
l,amu'c		1														
sala'l	1	2	1		1				1							
xllyi'					1											
tôxpa'a												1				
cûkapa'a	1	1														
Unassigned	4	2						1				1				

* These are xipa' individuals of Pima descent.

any clear-cut marriage preference. The distribution seems random: the number of cases is too small to make it worth while to calculate the probabilities.

The sibs were strictly exogamous in theory, but it will be observed that they were not so in practice. The breach occurs in the largest sib, xipa': three were marriages among xipa' of the local community and two with individuals who were either Pima or of Pima descent. Of the first category, two marriages occurred some time ago, and in one case husband and wife were close

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183 614 blood relatives. In the other two marriages within the local xipa' group, the couples were not related. One of these cases is interesting: a Maricopa xipa' woman married first a Pima classed as xipa' and later a Maricopa xipa'. Breach of the exogamic rule is implied in aboriginal times, for a stereotyped reaction was described which I doubt ever occurred with the modern marriages.

582 588 614 684 A man could not marry any known blood relative of either parent, nor any woman of his own sib. Hence he could marry an unrelated member of his mother's sib. If two related individuals did marry "without their parent's consent," they were regarded as dead. All their relatives would gather at the girl's home and mourn all day. They would set fire to the house, and break up and destroy all their belongings, just as though the girl had died. The man's parents did the same thing. The old people then told the couple they must never part, never remarry. It was held that children born to them would be weaklings.

In recent times the reaction was not so drastic. Sixteen years ago, B. J., a shaman now dead, married a girl of his own sib, xipa', who was in addition a close relative. His mother and this girl called each other by first-cousin terms; the exact relationship is unknown. The wife called him ẽnu', older sister's or cousin's child. He was an orphan who lived with her parents. People tried to prevent their marriage; they thought it revolting.

In another instance, a man married his paternal grandfather's sister's daughter (hence of another sib). I was told that in the old days this could not have happened. After nearly ten years, the aged grandfather is still unwilling to forgive, although he lives with the couple.

NAMES

553 Babies were given non-significant names, nicknames, by their mothers. It was not until they were several years old that real names were chosen, and these are given casually by anyone, without formality.[44] Boys' names were chosen indiscriminately, but girls were commonly named with reference to their sibs. Thus, xamitu'tc sib had for its principal totem the bean mes- 551 [614] quite, hence the girls of this sib were commonly named for parts of the mesquite, and sometimes the boys. One little girl of this sib, e.g., was named by her maternal grandmother's sister,

[44] The Pima naming ceremony with godparents was unknown here (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 188).

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wildering complexity, yet it is clear that they operate with a few simple principles.

The word "system" is quite legitimately employed for this body of kinship designations. It became quite clear that the Maricopa themselves think of it as a well-defined system. Thanks to my interpreter, Mrs. Redbird, it was possible to enquire systematically into the relationship of every person in the collateral lines derived from common greatgrandparents. She needed to know no more than the sex and relative ages of the siblings from whom the lines were traced to give without hesitation the terms used between any pair in the succeeding generations to no matter what degree of remoteness. She was frankly operating with a system. Every one of the usages obtained from her was checked and cross-checked, and in nearly every instance her first response was found to be correct. Not so her mother, an old-time Maricopa of nearly sixty, who, her daughter told me, could never tell what her relatives of even slight remoteness were called. Obviously, individual interest in the subject varied widely.

It is important to note that the kinship system bears no relation whatever to the sib system; kinship groupings do not follow sib lines.

The essential principle of the system is that the relative ages of brothers and sisters are given terminological expression, and the terms for their descendants hinge on this. These distinctions appear at every point, yet the curious thing is that age distinctions between siblings have no social existence. Neither I nor my interpreter, with whom I repeatedly discussed the matter, could find any feature of social life which might give rise to this. It may exist, but Mrs. Redbird's opinion was that the terminological distinctions existed only for their own sake.

Coupled with this basic principle is the fact that half-brothers and half-sisters are considered brother and sister, but only when children of the same mother.[46] The classification of parallel cous-

[46] By implication this may also be true of the Yuma and Mohave, but not of Cocopa, Kamia, and Northern Dieguefio (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, p. 62; Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 341). Terms given for paternal and maternal half-siblings among Yuma and Mohave are identical with those recorded here for the Maricopa. It may therefore be that these Colorado

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776 782 would hear any prayer. Last Star also thought that they were not directed to particular spirits.

Old people think that when the trees begin to bud, their lives have changed, been renewed; that a spirit has pulled them through the hard winter. They would then address the various spirits of animals and strong birds [that is, those that have power]. They did not pray to sun or moon, or dream of them. The sun toward evening says, "I have gone through the whole world watching my children. They seem all right, so I think I will go down and see how they are getting on in the other world." The sun claims every living creature as his own: so it seems queer to Last Star that they do not pray to him. The moon is an old woman who [821] looks down on little children and protects them. Hence when the moon first appears, the little children are told to call her by a kinship term, cinkls, grandparent's sister.

171 782 Prayer plumes were not used by the Maricopa, although the Pima usage was known. Nor were other offerings made, as shell, turquoise; nor sand paintings and fetishes constructed. The pollen crosses marked on themselves by Yavapai were equally unknown.

• 183 771 Beliefs in a magical order of events and actions were moderately important in Maricopa thought. At the same time they gave only lip service to some of these, differentiating rather clearly between sayings and beliefs. Mrs. Redbird, my interpreter, proved invaluable in this matter, always carefully prefacing her translation with the observation that the item was one of literal belief or merely a saying.[37] All beliefs and allied practices not mentioned elsewhere in this section on religion are resumed here.

787 825 Apart from the import of dreams, there were several omens, almost without exception presaging disaster. If the enemy were nearing a fishing party, the fish then broiling would shout out loud from among the coals. Just as soon as the fish were eaten, the enemy would appear shouting. Sometimes a fish bled from its side before it was cut: this was a sign someone would be wounded. If on a journey or to war, a deer joined the party instead of fleeing, it was taken as an omen that one of them would be killed. But the informant immediately added, that it meant they would kill an enemy, because to take a deer without having to hunt for it was lucky!

[763] Death or an epidemic was presaged by a horned owl seen flitting about the houses: when his mouth opened a light was seen

[37] For sayings see p. 331.